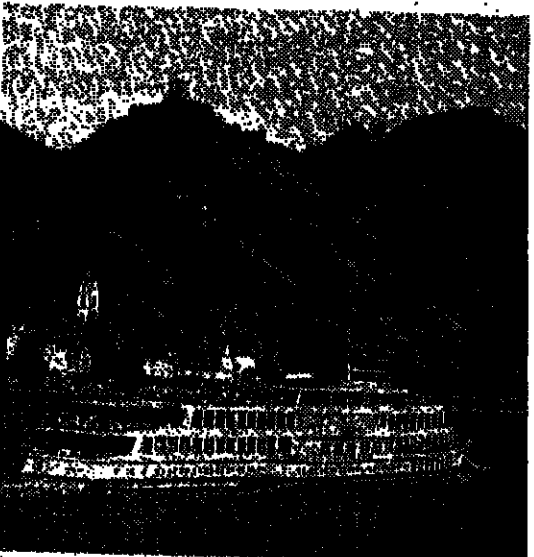




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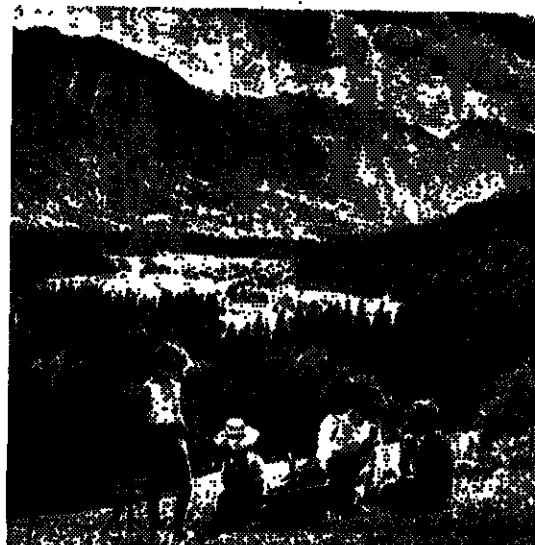


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# The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 27 April 1972  
Eleventh Year - No. 524 - By air

C 20725 C

## A rethink on Vietnam essential in the wake of Giap's offensive

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*

Whatever assessment may be made of the military situation in Indo-China – whether it be deemed stalemate or the beginning of months of fighting by 100,000 North Vietnamese regulars with the aim of destroying the South Vietnamese army – the Communist offensive has already achieved one objective. Inexorably the fighting and bloodshed have stripped the veil of fine and well-meaning words to reveal the bare bones of the political reality of the war. It is now clear that America's war aims are not those the government claims to be pursuing. It is equally apparent that Mr Nixon's real war aims are impossible of achievement.

Unless Washington reviews its Vietnam policy and effects substantial changes the war is condemned to drag on interminably with American assistance. Yet all the President need do is actually pursue the policy he claims to espouse.

The offensive has thus brought to light a state of affairs that makes policy changes appear a more likely possibility than would otherwise have been the case (though this can hardly have been what the strategists in Hanoi had in mind).

If Mr Nixon succeeds in suppressing an avowed desire to "win" at all costs and opts instead for honourable and convincing policies he can be sure of enjoying the support of the American people.

If he proves unwilling to review US policy the selfsame American public will force him to act. In a democratic system of government anxiety lest he fail to secure re-election is one of the most powerful influences on a politician.

The communist Easter offensive is viewed as an acid test of the vietnamisation of the war. It is, however, nothing of the kind since there would then be no doubt about the outcome. As it is, all that can be hoped is that General Giap's offensive will be stalled by the combination of Vietnamese ground forces and American air and sea power.

The concentration in the Bay of Tonkin of the largest US fleet in South-East Asia since the Korean War is eloquent evidence that the ending of the war, a full withdrawal of US troops and the return of POWs are not President Nixon's targets.

Aerial and naval bombardment are prolonging the war, re-escalating America's fighting role, costing fresh losses, increasing the number of POWs and are not necessary as a means of protecting the remaining US forces stationed in Vietnam.

The American aerial and naval counter-offensive gives the lie as to Washington's real aim, which is to forestall a defeat for the South Vietnamese army and the Saigon regime in the expectation that Hanoi can be bombed into consent to negotiate and agree to America's conditions, specifically that the Thieu administration be allowed to survive. This expectation is unlikely to be fulfilled.

Military commentators are making great play with claims that this is General Giap's final fling. This would, however, only be the case if the retreat of the bulk of the communist forces were blocked and further supplies of Chinese and Russian armaments cut off – both of which are militarily and politically out of the question.

A resumption of front-line fighting by American troops would run up against an insuperable morale problem. Recent instances of refusals to obey orders in a number of battalions indicate the extent to which US domestic opinion has come to affect the troops on active service.

To bombard Haiphong and the Soviet freighters berthed there would be an intolerable risk. Hanoi's offensive is thus a trap into which Mr Nixon has fallen with his policy of vietnamisation plus US firepower.

Whenever North Vietnam goes on to the attack and South Vietnam is threatened the US air force is compelled to intervene. Airmen are killed in action and the number of POWs increases. This is hardly a state of affairs President Nixon would like to be in when the Presidential elections are held next November.

The high-wire act of balancing the number of troops flown home against the number of aircraft carriers heading in the reverse direction is growing increasingly questionable. Dr Kissinger's back-room boys must think of something more constructive. But what?

An imponderable but nonetheless real factor that has arisen since Easter is a degree of South Vietnamese patriotism that has developed among the troops and the general public – an unexpected development if ever there was one.

It must not be mistaken for all-round approval of the politics of General Thieu but at the same time it is a fact that the South Vietnamese President now feels able to entrust the rural population with weapons. They make up an army of 1.2 million men and a 600,000-strong militia.

He can do so without worrying lest the arms promptly fall into the hands of his enemies. This has not always been the case. Even sceptical commentators are wondering what has become of the sea in which the fish swim, to use Maoist guerrilla terminology.

Mr Nixon might utilise this as a solution to his own dilemma. He would need only to take vietnamisation seriously and let Saigon know that as soon as the



Chancellor Brandt meeting Opposition leader Rainer Barzel for discussions on the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw (Photo: dpa)

## Willy Brandt meets Opposition leader Rainer Barzel

The tensely-awaited talks between Chancellor Brandt and Opposition leader Rainer Barzel on the Moscow and Warsaw treaties have brought the government and Opposition no nearer agreement.

If anything, the two sides are even further apart. Dr Barzel has declared that the "Not this way" that followed his initial point-blank "No" has again given way to a harder line.

Richard Stücklen of the Bavarian CSU noted on behalf of his own sister party of the Christian Democratic Opposition that the "utterly disappointing progress" of the discussions had strengthened the Opposition in its rejection of the treaties.

Yet the CDU and CSU are in even more of a dilemma than ever. Rainer Barzel has admitted that the Soviet Union has clarified a number of points regarding the treaties and attributes this to the Opposition's determination.

He is welcome to do so and may even be right, but if this is the case why is the Opposition seemingly even more determined to reject the treaties out of hand than in the past?

Of the Opposition's three original demands (Soviet recognition of the EEC, acknowledgment of the right to self-determination and fewer restrictions on travel between the two parts of Germany) only the final demand really remains to be fulfilled.

In an interview with *Hannoversche Allgemeine* Dr Barzel called it the hard core of differences of opinion. But the Soviet Union and the GDR can hardly be expected to make specific concessions on ratification.

The Opposition leader evidently hopes that Christian Democratic intransigence will induce the Soviet Union to make further concessions. He runs a serious risk of overcalling his hand, though.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 April 1972)

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### OPERA AND BALLET

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## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## Rogers comes to Europe to dispel Nato anxieties

Early next month Secretary of State William R. Rogers will be making the rounds of European Nato capitals in order to brief America's allies in what Washington claims will be unparalleled detail prior to President Nixon's Moscow visit.

On the President's return from Moscow at the end of May the Secretary of State will head straight for Brussels and the Nato Foreign Ministers' conference to report on the outcome of the US-Soviet talks.

These arrangements are considered to be a full-scale attempt to dispel traditional anxiety on the part of America's allies in Europe lest the two superpowers agree to join forces in assuming control over Europe.

This is one of the reasons why President Nixon will be discussing, among

other topics, multilateral subjects such as mutual balanced force reductions and the holding of a European security conference on the basis of the consensus currently being reached within Nato.

Mr Rogers will, at a rough guess, outline Washington's view of the reasons why the Soviet Union invited President Nixon to visit Moscow with the intention of achieving definite results as follows:

First, there are economic motives. The Soviet Union, it is argued, has come to realise that the Marxist-Leninist system is not conducive to economic growth in modern society. It has, indeed, led to stagnation.

Russia is accordingly badly in need of a powerful shot in the arm of Western technology on credit terms that presuppose a relaxation of political tension.

State Department planners feel their views to have been confirmed on this point by an essay in the April issue of *Foreign Affairs* written by a high-ranking Soviet official at the United Nations.

In this article Evgeni Khosudovsky outlines proposals for East-West cooperation that go far beyond anything mooted in the past. There being no question of the approval of the Soviet government it is felt to be a kite expressly flown prior to Mr Nixon's visit to Moscow.

A European security and cooperation treaty organisation is proposed as a multilateral body to supervise these joint undertakings.

Such far-reaching plans for East-West cooperation are hard to reconcile with Marxist theories about the pauperisation of capitalism, as the writer of the article willingly admits. Soviet economists, he says, have long since renounced their old views about the automatic collapse of capitalism.

Indeed, they were appreciative of its ability to control to a certain extent the ups and downs of trade. A comprehensive agreement between East and West must be reached, Khosudovsky concludes, in order to ensure political and military security and stability on world markets.

Another factor is Soviet mistrust of China, a mistrust that is claimed to be obsessive and paranoid. It is felt to be an

important element in Soviet rapprochement with the West, though it is denied in Washington that President Nixon considers himself in a position to play the Chinese card in Moscow in keeping with the policy of balance attributed to Dr Kissinger.

US columnists have suggested that President Nixon may have offered China economic aid on a loan basis and that this aid is of military significance and could be used as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the Soviet Union in connection with, say, the expected conclusion of an initial Salt agreement.

US diplomats shake their heads in dismay at any such idea. The US government, they point out, is not going to abandon completely its military restrictions on exports to Communist countries merely for China's sake.

Mr Nixon has told the Russians that he does not feel that Sino-Soviet tension need affect his own relations with the two countries in any way.

Mr Brezhnev, to judge by the conciliatory tenor of his address to the Soviet trades union congress, has accepted this point. Diplomats doubt, however, whether a three-cornered relationship dry-cleaned of distrust, as it were, can exist in practice.

A further motive for détente is, it is argued, the legalistic, formalistic Soviet inclination to codify the status quo (by means of, say, a European security conference).

Last but not least US diplomats note the ambivalence of Soviet policy, which is also aimed at an old-fashioned extension of power particularly evident in the naval sector.

In the context of Mr Nixon's trip to Moscow vigilance is called for to ensure that the Soviet side does not induce the United States to disengage from Europe unilaterally.

Mr Nixon expects to conclude an impressive package of bilateral agreements in the course of his visit to the Soviet Union. There is the first Salt agreement, a joint space programme (a rendezvous of Soviet and American spacecraft), environmental protection agreements and gigantic trading agreements such as joint exploitation of copper deposits in Siberia or natural gas reserves.

US-Soviet cooperation of this kind could also form the basis for agreement at the European security conference, though Washington would prefer security problems such as mutual balanced force reduction to be dealt with by smaller bodies.

Herbert von Borch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 April 1972)

## Alexei Kosygin visits Baghdad

Almost unnoticed by world public opinion Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin recently visited Iraq, where his talks represented the beginning of a new phase in developments in the Middle East.

Moscow has gained a further operational base in Iraq and is well on the way to gaining influence in the Persian Gulf.

Iraq is Moscow's second base in the region. Following the fall of Egyptian ex-Deputy Premier Ali Sabry allies of Moscow lost influence in Cairo and the Soviet Union is not satisfied with President Sadat on this score.

The Egyptian leader is cautiously trying to curb Soviet influence in Egypt without upsetting the Kremlin unduly. At the same time, though, President Sadat would like the Soviet Union to supply more arms. Moscow not unnaturally insists that Cairo pay the political price.

Cairo has done so most unwillingly, and was accordingly, to be taught, a lesson. The Soviet Union wanted to demonstrate that it can, if necessary, extend its influence in the Middle East regardless of President Sadat.

This was one of the reasons why Mr Kosygin concluded a fifteen-year friendship pact with Iraq. This pact killed a number of birds with one stone, though.

For one, the Soviet Union has now set foot on the oilfields of the Middle East, into which a large sum of Soviet money is to be ploughed. Middle Eastern oil has so far been a Western prerogative.

Second, "Red" Iraq has been given a shot in the arm and Turkey and Iran may well assume more neutral attitudes in consequence too.

Lastly, Soviet naval squadrons now have port facilities in Iraq. Five Soviet warships have already shown the flag at Umm Quasr.

Iraq's aim in concluding the pact was to sever the knot of isolation separating it from the rest of the Arab world. The Iraqi Baath regime was not on good terms with Cairo and relations with other Arab countries were not of the best either. In order to improve matters Baghdad veered towards the Soviet camp.

Hans-Jochen Zenker

(Nordwest-Zeitung, 11 April 1972)

## Gerhard Schröder to visit Peking

Ex-Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder can rightly claim to have been in relations with China in mind for some time regardless of day-to-day considerations.

His efforts to land an invitation to Peking date back to early last year, were not motivated by the desire to lay up a side-track of Bonn's *Ostpolitik* to adapt to the change in US policy in China.

These considerations were merely outward reasons why the Shadow Foreign Affairs Minister decided to resume talks first established in 1964. Confidential talks were held with the Chinese legation in Bonn at his instigation.

The earlier talks were aimed initially at formalising existing trade relations between this country and mainland China. It is hard to say how much further might have gone.

Since then next to nothing has happened in the way of relations between Bonn and Peking. The invitation extended by Gerhard Schröder is the first indication that Peking too is reappraising future with this country.

Inviting Dr Schröder to visit Peking its advantages as far as China is concerned. Since his Christian Democratic party in office at the moment the news talks need not be hidebound by mutual prestige.

Moreover, the Chinese will not forget that Dr Schröder's concept Foreign Affairs Minister always being on the best terms possible with communist countries bent on the greatest possible degree of independence of its own.

Gerhard Schröder, it will be recalled, was the Foreign Affairs Minister who started the ball rolling for the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bonn and Peking.

The Federal government has not been overdelighted by the news of the invitation extended to Dr Schröder. It hardly is expected to be enthusiastic about this feather in the cap of Opposition politician who cut a figure in the Bundestag debate on *politik*.

On balance, though, Bonn ought to welcome the invitation. It well might be that there can be no avoiding Peking the new member of the Security Council when it comes to both German and UN applications for membership of the UN.

Dr Schröder will be visiting China at a time by which the fate of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties will have been decided. He could well be the first to tell what policy Peking proposes to take towards this country in the circumstances.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 12 April 1972)

## The German Tribune

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## PROFILE

## Federal Republic mourns the loss of President Lübke

Whenever the qualities of honesty, devotion to duty and steadfastness were mentioned Heinrich Lübke's friends and foes alike had to agree that he had these qualities.

Measured against the difficult political setup during most of the ten years when he held the highest office in the protocol of the Federal Republic and the demands that were made of him Lübke was an attentive President during the latter years of the Adenauer era.

It is difficult to assess his importance in the postwar history of Germany accurately since he could scarcely avoid being overshadowed by his great predecessor, the liberal Theodor Heuss, and his successor Gustav Heinemann.

Heinrich Lübke's period of office from 1959 to 1969 was riddled with dissension and unpleasantness. Fifty per cent of this was no fault of Lübke's - his nomination in the first place was the outcome of the power struggle within his party, the Christian Democratic Union. His re-election in 1964 was caught up in the eddy of turbulent politics as the SPD's self-confidence grew, and Lübke's departure from public life was largely the result of a conspiracy by those who wanted a quick change.

The other fifty per cent of the difficulties that arose can be ascribed to Lübke himself. He wanted to be a more politically active President than his predecessor, and like Heuss he was tormented by the lack of political say granted to the President by the formulators of Basic Law.

With his background and upbringing Lübke had to be a man of the people, a role he kept as President. He was the son of a master cobbler and smallholder in Ennsheim in the Sauerland.

Heinrich, the second youngest of five, was born on 14 October 1894. Even when he was in Bonn Heinrich Lübke constantly felt himself drawn back to his hometown and he told tales of his rather hard-up youth with glee. He told of going into the fields barefoot to milk the cows and how at the village school he made the acquaintance of High Gertrud and the birch rod. He served the village priest at mass and was later helped by him to gain entry to a higher school.

Lübke went on to the agricultural colleges and university departments in Bonn, Berlin and Münster to study economics, land surveying, and administration. He joined up as a volunteer in the First World War.

Following the War Lübke worked in agricultural administration and joined the Centre Party, which sent him to the Prussian Provincial Assembly in 1931. It was for this reason that he along with other elected members of parties that were anathema to National Socialism was made to give up all his offices by the Nazis. They sent him to prison for interrogation and he was not released for twenty months.

Later Lübke stated that he determined in this period to have nothing more to do with politics. It was ironic and rather tragic that Lübke, who was never a member of the NS, should have worked during the War with private architecture and engineering office of Schlempp and helped in the planning of accommodation for workers.

Critics later accused Lübke of participation in the building of barracks for concentration camp inmates. As Schlempp's deputy he should have known what was being built, they accused. Immediately after the War Lübke joined the CDU and was sent to the first North Rhine-Westphalia Provincial As-

sembly. He served in the first Karl Arnold government from 1947 as Minister of Food and Agriculture.

Politicians who knew Heinrich Lübke from these days say that he did an outstanding job in this most difficult of offices. His Sauerland background made him thick-skinned and this stood him in good stead in the constant conflict with the British forces. In the dreadful postwar years of hunger and poverty Lübke did his utmost for his stricken fellow-countrymen.

In 1952 he asked to be relieved of his post in the NRW government and at the end of 1953 he was in Bonn as Konrad Adenauer's Minister of Food and Agriculture. His "Green Plan" brought him fame - and conflict. But till the summer of 1959 Heinrich Lübke was considered to be 100 per cent involved in his office. He rarely let political considerations encroach on his work.

Then came the "president crisis" when Konrad Adenauer considered becoming President, but realised that he would not be able to stop Ludwig Erhard succeeding him and thus withdrew his approval. Lübke's name then came up as the best way out for the CDU.

Heinrich Lübke never angled for the office of President and only accepted reluctantly. But he was voted in against Carlo Schmid (SPD) and Max Becker (FDP) and immediately decided that he would carry out his duties "trusting in God's help and the cooperation of the whole nation".

Once in the Villa Hammerschmidt Lübke was struck by the restrictions on the power of the President; he saw that he was a figurehead, but that the business of government passed him by. He disliked his image as "the country's senior notary".

He attempted to extend his duties of countersigning laws, official pronouncements and the like, but he never pushed matters so far as a constitutional crisis.

He was also hurt by the image he had in the public eye. He was mocked greatly for his simple way of delivering a speech and yet he believed large sections of the public at large approved of him. The gulf between the two led him finally to overestimate his powers and seek the popular vote.

In 1961, two years after he came to office, President Lübke attempted to influence the formation of the coalition

by announcing before the elections that he would approve of an all-party Cabinet, or a grand coalition. Experience did not make him wise and before the next election in 1965 he went so far as to write to the party leaders and exhort them not to decide prematurely on a new Chancellor. He had not gauged the political scene correctly, and what was worse he made this fact public knowledge. He was also wrong in his judgment of the motives of the SPD who made his re-election in 1964 possible. Herbert Wehner predicted quite correctly that within five years the Social Democrats would be so strong that they would be able to put up their own candidate for the Presidency and get him in.

The result was that the voice of the President lost weight constantly and confidence in the post waned.

In the spring of 1968 the campaign against Lübke, based on his supposed political past, began. It was not so much the campaign itself that affected his standing as his hesitant and ambiguous retorts to the accusations laid against him. The war of nerves was on and inevitably he was forced to retire from office a little ahead of schedule.

Lübke's last years were spent in almost complete isolation from the glare of publicity. He lived in his house on the Venusberg in Bonn surrounded by a security official, a secretary and a chauffeur. His wife Wilhelmine looked after him.

When her husband was in office Wilhelmine Lübke helped complement him, providing many of the characteristics he lacked. She is a highly educated woman and her vitality helped complement the rather stiff and starchy correctness of her husband.

As a pensioner Lübke's health failed rapidly. He suffered brain haemorrhages which made speaking difficult and blurred his memory. He was unable to go ahead with his plan to act as an adviser to the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO).

Klaus Rudolf Dreher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 April 1972)



President Lübke and his wife, Wilhelmine

(Photo: Archiv)

## A much-travelled ambassador for his country

Even though the tributes, obituaries and messages of sympathy that follow the death of a major national figure tend to be filled with apparent piety this does not prevent them from being the first glance at the life and work of the man as a whole from the distance created by death and thus the first step towards an historical appraisal of him.

As people in the Federal Republic watched the scenes from the life of the second President of the country assembled by television some may have realised that much of the criticism levelled against this man during his ten years of office, particularly by the so-called intellectuals, was in fact unjustified.

Did not grey-haired Heinrich Lübke's face exude some of those characteristics mentioned in his obituaries - honesty, simplicity, a sense of duty and even warmth?

Despite the limitations placed on the role of the President by Basic Law, or perhaps because of these limitations, the emphasis of Lübke's career lay in one particular direction, not in Lübke's efforts to have a greater influence on political life, but in his foreign tours.

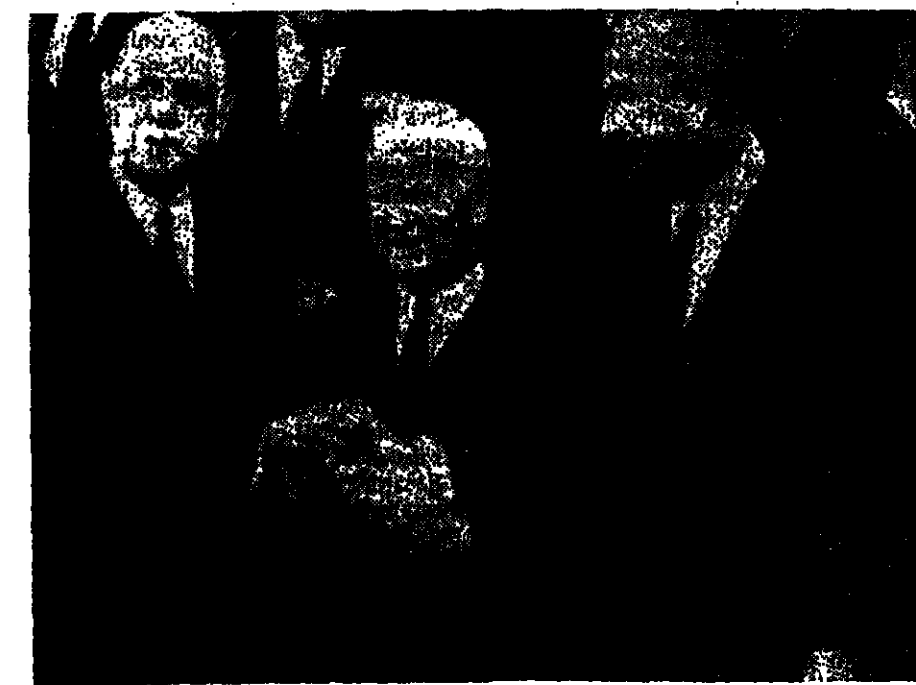
He undertook fourteen trips covering thirty different countries and the emphasis was on the world's youngest countries, the developing nations of the Third World.

Many observers have remarked that the reserved and rather shy seeming old gentleman from Germany who was supported by his wife in his public appearances was a good ambassador who aroused confidence and gave a good impression of his country, backing up the favourable ideas other nations have about the Federal Republic and correcting many unjustified prejudices.

It was not so much experiences of travelling as a correct political instinct that made Lübke go on his State visits. The number of warm tributes that have come from abroad now that Lübke is dead show how this impression has lasted.

Lübke may well have shown the Federal Republic the kind of ambassadors that are most effective abroad.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 April 1972)



Heinrich Lübke with Lyndon Johnson and Charles de Gaulle

(Photo: dpa)



## LEGAL AFFAIRS Parliamentary committee investigates legal scandal

Hamburg's justice resembles a rotten apple," a member of the House of Burgesses recently said. "There are too many worms in it." He was not completely wrong. For the past three months Hamburg has been rocked by a scandal that will probably have consequences for the whole of the West German legal system.

A Parliamentary Committee of Investigation has now been set up in Hamburg to bring some light into the scandal involving no fewer than 49 judges, public prosecutors, professors, police officials and law court employees. Public confidence in the correctness of legal decisions must be restored after the jolt it has received in Hamburg.

It began with the suicide of Günther von Below, a prominent Hamburg public prosecutor, on 10 January this year. Von Below, 51, shot himself after it had become known that he had suspended proceedings against an extremely obscure entrepreneur by the name of Busch in return for a fine of 400,000 Marks.

Busch was being prosecuted for tax evasion totalling 1.3 million Marks and further summonses had already been made against him.

A quarter of the fine — 100,000 Marks — was transferred to an anti-drink-and-drive organisation of which von Below was the head. It now turns out that von Below gave 252 talks on behalf of his association and received fees totalling 31,370 Marks — almost as much as his salary as a public prosecutor.

But von Below was not the only person to earn a little on the side by such methods. A magistrate named Arland who worked closely with von Below pocketed about eleven thousand Marks last year. Colleagues by the name of Schmaltz and Kamm received twenty thousand Marks each as did a law court secretary named Böe. A lawyer named Martin brings up the rear with a fee of eight hundred Marks.

There would be no objections against fees being given for lectures of this type if only they were not so ludicrously high and if only some members of the legal system had not granted favours in return.

Of all charitable organisations in Hamburg von Below's association, the merits of which cannot be denied, received most money from the law courts' income last year.

It received 375,000 Marks, seventy per cent raised through the activities of von Below and Arland, while the Refugee Aid Organisation, another charitable body entitled to money from the law, had to make do with four hundred Marks and an association helping thalidomide children obtained only 32,000 Marks.

Two injunctions were issued in Hamburg in 1956 and 1968 demanding that all fines must pass through the court accounts departments. But Senator of Justice Ernst Heinsen has had to admit that these rulings are not heeded. This means that the fines can be subtracted from the offenders' taxable income as contributions to charitable organisations.

This trade in fines was, it is stated unofficially in the Public Prosecutor's Office, thrown out as bait for young judges to switch from civil to criminal law as a few hundred Marks extra could be earned.

The Parliamentary Committee of Investigation should not restrict its work to examining von Below's association. It has long been known in Hamburg that other

organisations have been favoured when it has come to distributing fines in the past. The Transport Science Seminar for instance received 82,000 Marks in 1970 and 93,000 in 1971.

The initiated think it remarkable that members of the Transport Science Seminar, among them a number of judges and public prosecutors, have long taken expensive trips throughout the world.

Eighty-eight members recently flew to the United States and 140 "transport experts" made an extended visit to the Far East. The official report states openly that this figure included 31 wives.

A new aspect of this distasteful scandal has now come to light, making Hamburg's justice seem even more dubious. The Public Prosecutor's Office is reported to have protected von Below even after the incorrect suspension of proceedings against Busch had become known officially.

Von Below was not abandoned until Justice Senator Ernst Heinsen personally stepped in. This is a serious accusation and the Parliamentary Committee will have to get to the bottom of it.

The Hamburg scandal gives rise to the question of whether courts should support charitable and non-profit-making organisations from the fines they impose on offenders. It is the customary practice in most West German cities for the courts to decide which organisations they are to make donations to and the amount they are to pay.

This system obviously invites corruption. What is more, it does not function anyway where offences against traffic regulations are concerned. The fines imposed must be transferred to the State.

Most of the 49 people known to have received money from von Below's organisation can calmly await the Parliamentary Committee's verdict. The Hamburg legal authorities have already anticipated the verdict and stated that their actions are not subject to punishment or disciplinary measures.

Most of the invective is directed against von Below, who has escaped all consequences by committing suicide, and magistrate Arland who retired prematurely from his post.

Proceedings are still continuing against secretary Böe who sorted out the files of people most likely to have to pay fines and took them to Arland.

This system of paying charitable organisations donations has suddenly come to a standstill in Hamburg. "Who knows whether or not it is continuing unchecked in other Federal states," a high official asked however.

Thomas Wolgast  
(Münchener Merkur, 8 April 1972)

## Prisoners in Bremen to take part in decision-making

Convicts at Bremen prisons will have a part in decision-making from this summer, Herr Kahrs, the Bremen Senator of Justice, recently announced. Prisoners will have a greater say in the penal system and will be able to appoint their own representatives.

Another reform in Bremen involves paying prisoners a full wage for their work. This will only be possible, Kahrs believes, if more firms agree to order goods from prisons or if they were prepared to invest in branches to be set up in the prisons. Kahrs admitted that higher State expenditure would be unavoidable at first.

Committees consisting of part-time representatives from the public will be set up at prisons from 1 June this year to act in an advisory capacity in discussions about the penal system and the treatment of prisoners. They will listen to prisoners' ideas, wishes and objections and will also turn up at prisons without prior notice to examine food and accommodation.

It is also planned to appoint an advisor

## Meter maids tell tales of motorists' wrath at Düsseldorf conference

Female traffic wardens controlling parking meters in West German cities who hand out tickets to motorists breaking parking regulations are prepared psychologically for situations of conflict during their period of training.

Once they start work they find out what life really is like. "We are often threatened," one Düsseldorf traffic warden stated. "If you show up again I'll kill you," a motorist told a Cologne meter-maid.

Pedestrians, especially pensioners, shout insults after them: "You ought to get a decent job" or, "Get back to your stove" or, "You should stay home and take care of your husband."

Meter-maids from nine West German cities recently met in Düsseldorf to tell of what they had experienced during their duties.

Many of the traffic wardens had been jostled from behind when jotting down a car number. Summonses were issued in the worst twenty cases. "Violence is on the increase," a spokesman complained. "Motorists are unfortunately going to extremes."

No clear picture of pedestrian violence against traffic wardens could be gained at the Düsseldorf congress which was also attended by representatives of the Ministry of Transport and the West German City's Federation.

An elderly traffic warden from Düsseldorf claimed that the majority of drivers she booked were pleasant and understanding. A young meter-maid from Munich reported on the occasion when two drivers handed her flowers when she presented them with a parking ticket.

Traffic wardens have been employed in West Germany since 1962 when, staff shortages in the police force led to their introduction in Frankfurt. Since then practice throughout the country has varied. Motorists parking in Frankfurt's pedestrian zones are always given a ticket but warning are more common in other cities.

The 31 traffic wardens in Hanover each issued an average of 4,380 warnings a year while the average figure for Frankfurt's traffic wardens — with 103 women the largest force in the Federal Republic — is no more than 2,300.

As far as the number of warnings is concerned, the sixty thousand a year issued by the 55 traffic wardens in Munich and the fifty thousand issued by their 74 colleagues in West Berlin lag far

behind the three hundred thousand warnings recorded in Cologne, the 250,000 in Frankfurt and the two hundred thousand in Düsseldorf.

The 1.7 million Marks income of Cologne's traffic wardens exceeds that of Munich's 1.1 million Marks or more than twice as high as the income of the hundred thousand Marks.

The traffic wardens at the Düsseldorf congress expressed their dissatisfaction with the various rates of pay in operation in different parts of the country. To year-old traffic wardens in Munich, a gross monthly salary of 1,175 Marks, full-time work, a figure that includes police allowance. Their colleagues in Frankfurt have to do without this allowance. Entry into higher wage categories is impossible in Hanover and Cologne.

Most traffic wardens like working full days so that they can spend more time with their family. Some of the wage used to be shop assistants and are glad that they have escaped the oppressive atmosphere of department stores can earn more money for shorter hours.

Most cities still have vacancies in traffic wardens and are unable to fill some applicants because of the excessive salaries they demand. But West Berlin in the happy position of having some hundred applicants standing by for a reduction of the usual rate.

A general cry of surprise and indignation came from the delegates when Düsseldorf traffic warden appeared first of the new turquoise summer forms. The Frankfurt wardens enthused so much about their chic leather coats and sou'westers that they leagued from other cities grew jealous.

Cologne's traffic wardens thought their pot-shaped hats made them appear badly dressed and a Berlin warden criticised her uniform as being impractical. She had had to make some adjustments to it herself, she said. Males are said to have selected the uniform without consulting the women. Friedrich Kaschuba (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 April 1972)

## New crime-beating measures

Hans Dietrich Genscher, Federal Minister of the Interior, said in an interview with the West German Sunday newspaper *Welt am Sonntag*, that the fight against crime would be intensified by extending the scope of the telephone tapping laws and applying aliens law more stringently.

By this means the Minister has particularly to halt the sale of drugs and weapons and reduce crimes perpetrated by foreigners, all of which have been spiralling recently.

Genscher stressed that the right to use the telephone without being spied on is a fundamental right but an extension of official powers to listen in was essential in his opinion in the light of drug offences and illegal arms trafficking.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 March 1972)

## Police cheered

Most inhabitants of North Rhine-Westphalia look upon the police with respect, Willi Weyer, the Federal state's Minister of the Interior, told a press conference in Düsseldorf.

A survey held during a complete week organised by the police showed that only one per cent of three thousand people "complained" described the police as unfriendly, biased or not objective. Thirteen per cent called the police officious though human while nine per cent believed that the police were formal and correct.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 March 1972)

## PARLIAMENT

## Bundestag has a full agenda over the next nine months

The Bundestag has nine working months at its disposal for legislation during the current legislative period. Various advisory committees will therefore work under considerable strain and under the influence of political controversy. The standard of legislation dealt with could suffer as a result.

Tax reform is still the most delicate subject. The particularly controversial income tax and corporation tax reforms will be submitted to the Bundestag even if there is little chance that they will be passed. Whatever the case, the whole reform is being influenced by electioneering.

More than two hundred Bills are currently being discussed in their various stages. Many of them are controversial.

There is for instance the amendment to the monopoly laws. It is proposed to control mergers and increase supervision of firms with a monopoly or near monopoly of a market. Cooperation between firms will also be made easier.

Both a government and Opposition Bill have been put forward for amending value added tax and it will be some time before discussions end. The appropriate committee has also to come to a decision on more than one hundred applications for exemption from value added tax or a reduction of the usual rate.

A Bill to raise the preliminary tax-free amounts for agriculture is also in committee stage. The legislature must also provide the basis for the controversial fiscal measures that are now required in agriculture for currency reasons.

A number of problems are also involved

## Poll reveals West Germans favour more women in government

### Nordwest-Zeitung

A survey conducted by the Institute for Applied Social Science based in Bonn shows that the number of West Germans favouring women having more seats in local councils and the Bundestag has increased considerably over the past eight years.

Sixty-five per cent of the 1,082 men and women on the electoral register who were interviewed during the survey stated that more women should concern themselves with local politics. Sixty-two per cent called for more women to enter the Bundestag.

Only minorities of less than a third (29 and 30 per cent respectively) believed that the active participation of women in local councils or in the Bundestag was important.

A survey conducted in 1964 showed that 55 per cent did not believe it important for women to be on local councils. Only 36 per cent thought it important at the time.

Another difference to the 1964 results lay in the evaluation of local and national politics. In the autumn of 1964 all sections of the population agreed that, if women were to enter any governing bodies, they should go preferably into the Bundestag.

Today a larger proportion of the interviewed sample preferred women to be the police officers though human while nine per cent believed that the police were formal and correct.

(Nordwest-Zeitung, 31 March 1972)



in the reform of company law and the cooperative laws too are to be modernised during the current legislative period. Greater flexibility in capital accumulation is being discussed above all else but this partial corrective will not render a complete reform superfluous.

A building society law is also to be passed. Private and publicly-owned building societies will then be subject to the same laws and a standardised system of supervision. Credit law will also apply to building societies because of their bank-like character.

The real credit reform necessitates an amendment to the mortgage law and other laws applying to bonds and debentures issued by publicly-owned banks.

The Bundestag also plans an amendment to end illegal acts by estate agents. Persons wishing to set themselves up as estate agents will be subject to more rigorous controls. The new law will not demand any certificate of competence but the appropriate minister will be empowered to issue specifications for efficiency in these professions.

Pollution will still play a major role in debates before the legislative period is over. Basic Law must be altered and laws on air and water pollution and the emission of waste effluents must be passed.

These Bills and the Environment Statistics Law are likely to be passed more quickly than the reform of the food laws that will still occupy the committees for some time.

The social sector also involves a number of serious problems. Among the controversial points that have to be overcome are the Hospital Finance Bill, a law governing the organisation of the postal services, the Work Promotion Law amendment, the pharmaceuticals law and the sickness insurance regulations for farmers.

The pensions insurance reform package plays a major role here. Among the items to be discussed are the voluntary retirement age, the opening up of pensions insurance schemes to the self-employed, the rights of housewives and the introduction of a contribution-free year for women following the birth of a child.

The Bundestag agenda also includes the new drink-and-drive law, suburban transport laws, the civil court procedure amendment and laws governing the post office, the press and the penal code.

## Domestic affairs top priority, survey shows

A survey conducted by the Wickel Institute of Tübingen shows that 67 per cent of West Germans believe domestic policy more important than foreign policy.

Asked whether the government should pay more attention to foreign or domestic policy, 67 per cent of the people interviewed replied that domestic policy should be given priority, only nineteen per cent stated that foreign policy was more important and fourteen per cent were not known.

The persons stating domestic policy to

The controversial framework university law and the law of copyright will also occupy the legislature along with the reduction of the period of conscription and the various laws to improve the soldier's lot.

Abortion law reform and divorce law reform will guarantee a number of hotly-contested debates. A number of tax laws will pose less problems despite the fact that they are now being criticised by industrialists.

Among other topics occupying the Bundestag are the amendment to stock exchange law, the food laws, the amendment to the work promotion law and the 1972 Budget.

Bills originating from the Bundestag include the amendment to the profit-tax law, the partnership law and the law of copyright. The Bundesrat or Upper House drew up Bills concerned with the arms laws and career training regulations.

Antonius John  
(Handelsblatt, 10 April 1972)

## New tenancy regulations give greater protection

Large sections of the population, especially the poor, will no longer have to worry in future about being evicted from their homes by landlords. The recently-passed rent act protects tenants from unjustified notice to leave but it still does not always prevent the inconvenience of moving into a new flat and settling in a new community.

Housing Minister Lauritzen now plans to give council-house tenants the same security as people who own their own homes. They will not own the house or flat as some schemes propose but they will have a long-term contract giving them rights similar to ownership.

A council-house tenant will save the fifteen per cent share of total buildings costs usual and he will not only have a permanent right of tenancy but will also receive the financial advantages otherwise enjoyed by the builder.

These advantages comprise the appreciation in the house's value and the tax savings involved in building. Of course, these advantages will also have to be paid for.

Basically, this idea is neither new nor revolutionary. It is much less revolutionary than some people had expected as it intentionally avoids scaling down public ownership of council houses.

The question is whether enough financiers will now be found to put up the millions of Marks required as a starter.

The council-house tenants who will now be in a better position probably do not care whether this is a pre-election sop or not. But political observers do not believe it a coincidence that the plans were announced only a few weeks before polling in Baden-Württemberg.

Gerhard Weck  
(Bremser Nachrichten, 12 April 1972)

## Reform of courts of law postponed

Administration of justice in West Germany is currently divided into four levels — local court, the regional court, courts of appeal and the Federal Court.

Minister of Justice Gerhart Jahn wanted to change this into a three-level system during this legislative period. A new-style regional court is planned for the lowest level. Each of these courts will cover an area with a population of about one hundred thousand.

There will be more courts of appeal than before on the intermediate level and the Federal Court of Justice will continue to be the supreme body.

Radical reorganisation of this type gives rise to a number of problems of course. It is little wonder that these plans are being opposed. The division between opponents and advocates of the reform does not run along party lines.

The strongest opposition comes from groups that are directly affected. The West German Lawyers Association categorically rejects the three-level scheme and the West German Judges Association, though not really liking the present four-level scheme, opposes Jahn's plans for other reasons. The Federal states' ministers of justice have not approved the plans without reservation either.

Reforming the administration of justice will be impossible without the backing of these important groups. Jahn's decision to change his timetable for the reform therefore seems unavoidable, though it could not have been an easy one for him to take.

Jahn now hopes that agreement or near agreement will be reached with the various interests by this autumn. There will be no dogmatism in negotiations, it is assured.

A number of reasons makes it appear questionable as to whether there will still be a chance of bringing the Bill through the Bundestag. Jahn too realises this. It is no coincidence that he speaks of helping this reform on its way. This is a lot less than was once promised. And from the political point of view, a reform postponed even for good reasons is not a reform.

(Die Welt, 12 April 1972)

## Bonn liberalises laws dealing with aliens

The need to protect the family and the institution of marriage should have precedence over the interests of the State and, accordingly, West German laws on aliens will soon be liberalised for those foreigners who are married to Germans.

The Bundesrat or Upper House has already approved of an Interior Ministry Bill which will make it more difficult to deport foreigners married to Germans and break up families and marriages in this way.

Deportation will only be possible in the event of serious offences such as those involved with narcotics or arms.

The new regulation goes back to a question in the Bundestag in 1970. A foreigner was to be deported to his under-developed homeland after his period of training in this country was over despite the fact that he had married a German girl in the meantime and planned to live with her in this country.

The new regulation will be binding for all similar cases of hardship. It states categorically: "With foreigners who are married to German, the interests of the Federal Republic of Germany impaired by the presence of these foreigners, in particular the interests of development aid policy, are to be considered secondary to the State interest in protecting the family and the marriage."

Werner K. Erdsack  
(Münchener Merkur, 8 April 1972)



## LABOUR RELATIONS

## Guest workers increase productivity at a price

DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

It caused quite a stir when the Minister of Labour Walter Arendt announced recently to an international audience that employing foreign workers in the Federal Republic could reach a stage where the disadvantages would swallow up the advantages for economic growth which the *Gastarbeiter* bring.

Now that foreign workers are tending to stay here longer than in the past and members of their families are increasingly following them to this country, the foreign guests are losing one of their greatest advantages for the labour market — regional mobility.

Furthermore it is costing more and more public and private money to assimilate a growing number of aliens into our society.

Nevertheless Walter Arendt realises as well as anybody that for years to come the Federal Republic will need a large number of foreign workers to keep the economy going in top gear. With the decline in the length of the working week, longer holidays, longer periods of study before and after starting work and earlier retirement the amount of work per employee is being cut drastically and a correspondingly larger labour force is required to equalise this.

Between 1960 and 1971 the number of Germans working in this country increased by only 390,000. In the same period the number of foreigners working here increased by 1,850,000.

The number of unemployed has with temporary exceptions remained low, which proves that the recruiting of foreigners has proved a practical way of filling the gaps in the labour force caused by the age structure of our population, a result of war losses.

The slackening off of the economy in the second half of 1971 scarcely had any effect on the foreign labour force in this country.

While the unemployed figures almost trebled from the end of September 1971 to the end of January 1972 (from 146,700 to 375,600) the number of foreign workers in this country dropped by only five per cent to 2,130,000.

The great advantage of foreign workers, apart from the fact that they are not tied to any one part of the country, is that they are generally unskilled or semi-skilled workers and can thus make the move from one company to another or one branch of the economy to another easier than a West German worker.

The level of unemployment among guest workers is even lower than the low level among native West Germans (in the autumn of 1971 it was 0.4 per cent, as compared with 0.7 per cent).

In the recession of 1967 only five out of every thousand unemployed were foreign workers. In the autumn of 1971 the ratio was 6.1 to a thousand.

According to the Federal Labour Exchange HQ there were 36,500 places available for foreign workers at the end of February this year, as compared with 86,000 the year before.

Today one in ten jobs in the Federal Republic is filled by a foreigner. Of the foreign labour force 28 per cent are women. In certain branches of the economy such as the building trade, plastics, rubber and asbestos manufacture, the proportion of foreign workers is closer to twenty per cent.

The pros and cons of this trend have

been discussed in a number of investigations and reports, which have in part been critical. A comprehensive breakdown has been supplied by the Deutsche Industrie-Institut in two publications by Heinz Salowsky, *Gesamtwirtschaftliche Aspekte der Ausländerbeschäftigung* (Overall economic aspects of employing foreign workers) and *Sozialpolitische Aspekte der Ausländerbeschäftigung* (Social welfare policy and the employment of foreign workers).

The value to the individual employer and individual firm of a foreign labour force is evident. Without their help firms would be understaffed and machinery would lie idle. The economic and industrial setup as a whole would be in danger of breaking down. And a number of important but unpleasant jobs such as road-sweeping and garbage disposal would go by the board.

But for the economy as a whole it is a far different question. Foreign workers are not purely workers — they are also consumers, savers, taxpayers, contributors to social welfare and beneficiaries of it.

In many ways their customs and habits vary from those of people born and bred in this country and thus their being here is not just a matter of adding a couple of million to the population statistics — they have a qualitative as well as quantitative effect on life in the Federal Republic.

For one thing they affect the balance of payments by transferring about a quarter of their earnings back home.

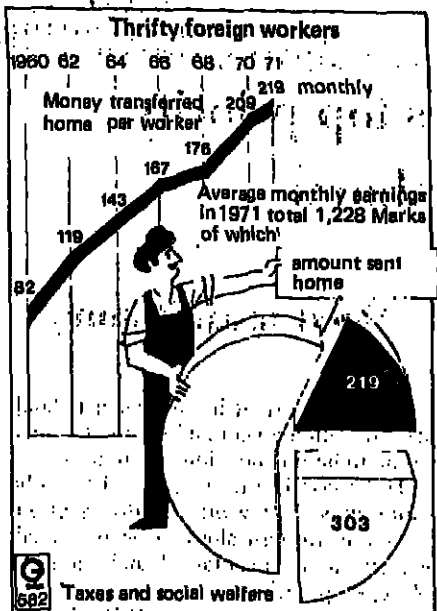
One factor about which there is no doubt is that foreign workers have helped this country's economy expand. If the productivity per worker were to remain steady there would still be an increase in the gross national product thanks to the efforts of the foreign workers.

This is one cause of criticism. It is said that while companies can rely on a labour force which is readily importable they neglect rationalisation measures which they might otherwise carry out.

This, it is objected, causes wages to rise. But in the past two years the chain of effect has been quite different. The rising wage bill has in fact encouraged companies to carry out rationalisation moves wherever this was technically and financially possible.

In recent years when factories ceased to be viable and had to close down it has been quite clear how difficult it is for West Germans to pull up their roots and move to a new area in search of work. A reluctance to do so has been shown not only by the older workers.

It is in such cases that the mobile



nature of the foreign labour force has really shown its worth. Gaps have been filled and a rate of growth has been achieved that it is hard to isolate and for which there are, therefore, no figures readily available.

The simple equation: "The more people employed — the greater the GNP" may seem true to expansion fanatics. But the interesting question is: Does the national product per capita increase with the employment of foreign workers?

There is even more doubt whether this is the case when the *Gastarbeiter* bring several members of their family with them who have demands to make on the national economy. In the worst cases the expansion we owe to the foreign workers is cancelled out by the extra demands made on the service industries by them and their dependents.

It is essential to keep an economic analysis of the worth of foreign workers and a humane attitude towards them quite separate so that the former does not influence the latter. The forced labour of people dragged to Germany against their will during the War has left its scars. The trauma is reflected in many ways and not least the condescending description of these aliens as "guest workers".

Time and again employers, concierges, officials and the man in the street have been exhorted to be kind to foreign workers.

Most people who come to work in this country, except those from our neighbours in the West, can earn more in West Germany than they could at home, and can achieve a higher standard of living. At work and in social welfare matters they are the equals of West Germans. They are able to collect family allowances even if their children remain at home.

But critics do not measure the standard of living of foreign workers against the conditions in their home country — they measure it against the standards we are used to in the Federal Republic.

Naturally the differences are greater the shorter the amount of time spent by the foreign worker here. He has ground to make up which can only be done gradually and most foreign workers are admirably thrifty so that they can send money home. They are not so concerned about buying the material possessions that make for a "higher standard of living".

The greater the demands made by and on behalf of foreign workers the more the question arises whether it is worthwhile bringing them here. Is it worth it if whole new housing, schoolbuilding and hospital programmes must be undertaken and the whole infrastructure of the country changed? Would it not be better to recruit extra workers from this country and when Mohammed cannot go to the mountain to bring the mountain to Mohammed? It might be possible to arrange schemes whereby workers construct component parts in their home town which could then be brought to the main factory.

Professor Carl Föhl has studied the effects of employing foreigners from the point of view of economics and the standard of living by means of a comparative system. He came to the conclusion that the increase in the standard of living which many people expect to be the result of employing *Gastarbeiter* is a myth.

He says it is most likely that by employing foreigners and continuing to operate with outdated plant companies will effectively cut per capita productivity. This is even more likely to be the case as the proportion of non-paying investments increases with the arrival of more and more foreign workers for whom houses etcetera will have to be provided.

Switzerland had to deal with this problem long before the Federal Republic. When the number of foreign workers employed increases from year to year, it was found, the proportion of consumer

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## Equal redundancy rights for foreign workers

Sixty thousand people are working and a further thirty thousand on short time in the state of Rhine-Westphalia — very disquieting figures. Redundancies owing to changing economic conditions and fewer are on the increase.

But the legislation to protect workers made redundant requires employers to find the right, or at least a suitable, provision for their employees.

This provision for equal rights extends to all jobs in the firm, comparable and must take into account all the circumstances of the individual case, such as marital and family status, length of employment, number of children, age of employee and other factors.

This provision for equal rights is rescinded in cases where a pressing technical, economic or other justified reason of the firm makes it essential to keep on one employee while a fortunate colleague has to be laid off.

Lately the question of the relation between a West German employee and foreign worker when it comes to a crunch has been raised on a number of occasions. People want to know what there should be discrimination on a principle: "the foreign workers go it then the West Germans".

According to law the foreign worker must be treated as equal to the German. On no account should he be disadvantaged. Our courts have decided that when in Germany foreign workers should do as the Germans do and be all our laws apply to them, including redundancy protection legislation.

Still it is possible that judges in a country, when weighing up the various factors, will take into account any statement made by a *Gastarbeiter* as to how long he will remain in this country. It could be made to abide by any decision even if he has changed his mind since.

Likewise the Federal Labour Court already passed a verdict that a German worker who had declared his intention to work for his firm for a limited time could also be put high on the list of men to be made redundant.

(Händlerblatt, 31 March)

## Foreign workers elect their own parliament

In the Rhineland industrial town of Troisdorf aliens working there elect their own 'aliens parliament' in June. The foreign workers' representatives will advise the elected municipal authorities on matters concerning the local *Gastarbeiter*.

Of the 55,000 people of Troisdorf 5,500 are workers from abroad. This is the first time foreign workers in this country have got organised on such a basis.

A sub-committee of foreign workers has already convened to work out guidelines for election procedure and these on to the *Gastarbeiter*.

The various national groups, Czechs, Italians, Yugoslavs, Spaniards and others will vote for their representatives in parliament separately.

The foreign workers' representatives will enter into discussions with the municipal authorities and will be able to speak on sub-committees.

Troisdorf municipal authorities are in favour of the foreign workers' initiative and have offered them a building where they were formerly a town hall for meetings.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 7 April 1972)

## PUBLIC SERVICES

## Bundespost criticised for poor service at increased cost

Shrieks were heard from the telephonist at a Hamburg export-import company. She had a screaming fit because she had been trying for five hours to get a number in Constance for her boss. She had not on one occasion managed to dial all five digits of the code for Constance, 07531, before the depressing pip-pip-pip of the engaged signal rang in her ear.

The young lady was one of many who go mad every day trying to get a number, waiting for a letter that never arrives or waiting for a second delivery which never turns up. Meanwhile the Bundespost proudly issues press releases with "facts worth knowing".

For instance that the number of main telephone connections in the Federal Republic has doubled since 1966, that fifty per cent of all applications to have a phone installed are carried out within three months, that the total value of post office equipment has risen in the past twenty years from 2,300 to 25,700 million Marks, that the post office expects turnover of 26 milliard Marks in 1974, that postal and telephone communications increased by 34.6 per cent between 1966 and 1970 while the post office staff increased in size by only 2.7 per cent.

Such statistics are not very interesting to Herr Schmidt and Frau Müller. They are far more concerned by the fact that from July this year they are to face higher charges imposed by Georg Leber's Ministry of Posts, Telecommunications and Transport.

Charges were raised in 1971 and the Bundespost hoped this would get them out of the red. But the deficit in 1972 is

Continued from page 6

actively declines in favour of financing for new investments.

The moment at which the payoff comes and consumer activity is boosted by the extra productivity owing to the foreign workers is postponed and postponed.

Many surveys have been conducted on this theme and generally speaking they can be reduced to the following common denominators.

Employing foreign workers increases economic growth but slows down the growth of the standard of living because the essential extra investment on the factory floor and in infrastructure cuts down the amount of consumer goods available for per capita consumer activity.

The extension of the potential labour force slows down the drive towards streamlining and rationalisation and hampers technological progress.

The difference in the capabilities of foreign and local workers is detrimental to productivity at work.

Of course not all the experience that has been gleaned from the Swiss can be applied wholesale to the Federal Republic. For a start the relationship in terms of numbers between foreign and local workers is different in Switzerland. The proportions will not be the same in the Federal Republic until the number of *Gastarbeiter* has increased from two to ten million.

In this country it was not so much a question of creating new jobs for foreign workers. The *Gastarbeiter* came here to fill vacant jobs.

Nevertheless we have now got to the stage where stocktaking of the path we have trodden so far must be done far more thoroughly.

Günther Schach

(Deutsche Zeitung, 7 April 1972)

Münchener Merkur

likely to break all records. The increased charges will not make up for this, but will only soften the blow somewhat.

Statisticians, we all know, are not just brainy mathematicians, but also magicians capable of proving anything. The price of posting an inland letter will go up from thirty to forty pfennigs, but this does not represent an increase of 33 per cent they say.

They claim: "The increase in fees represents a percentage increase of the general level of prices equivalent to only 0.14 per cent. As a result of this the total price index for the cost of living of all private households will increase by only 0.114 per cent."

Certainly these figures are right enough, for the Bundespost is not raising all charges, but only those that make a profit anyway, or at least break even, namely the telephone service and mail.

But these statistics bring little comfort to those plagued by the declining level of service, such as the failure to fill numbered boxes at weekends, the increasing withdrawal of Saturday deliveries, the express letters that go by snail mail and the like.

The man in the street agrees with the Chairman of the Postal Users Association Wilhelm Hübner of Offenbach, who says: "The service provided by the Deutsche Bundespost is wretched."

Herr Hübner does not criticise the

postal service per se so much as its degree of efficiency, its economics and its methods — not its work, but the way that work is carried out, and the way it must be carried out according to law.

With its 507,257 employees the West German postal service is the largest service industry in Europe. One can well imagine the amount of effort that goes into its annual productivity, such as the level achieved in 1971:

The number of letters carried was 11,500 million (188 letters per capita as compared with 164 in 1962), the number of packages delivered was 323 million, 2,800 million newspapers and magazines were sent through the post and the number of passengers carried on post buses was 409 million.

The turnover of the postal transmission of money service was 200 million Marks, and 3.5 million postal-cheque accounts brought a turnover of 1,170 million Marks. The national post-office savings books held a total of 10,400 million Marks. 3,700 million calls were made on the subscriber trunk dialling system.

These are just a few of the figures from a few of the postal services.

The Association of Postal Users criticises the Bundespost as a service industry which may not receive fiscal aid or subsidies, and which makes charges on those services on which it enjoys a monopoly designed to subsidise those on which it does not, and on which it vies with private enterprise though not standing a chance of competing.

So from 1 July, although the telephone service pays its way, subscribers will have to pay more in the form of higher basic charges and a shortening of the period of

time that may be bought for their money. This is despite the fact that the phone service makes a thirty per cent profit on turnover.

The postal authorities maintain that the high level of indebtedness at present, 26 milliard Marks, is mainly due to investments on telephone equipment. This is true. What they do not say is that these investments are a paying proposition. In 1969 alone with a total turnover of 7,540 million Marks the returns from invested capital stood at the extraordinarily high figure of 4,020 million Marks. This was 837 million Marks in excess of the 3,180 million invested in the phone service.

If the Bundespost cannot get into the black it is because of costs that should be met by Bonn and which totalled 700 million Marks in 1970. These include expenditure on retired postmen's pensions and subsidies for the postal service in and around Berlin.

Unlike industry and the Federal railways the Bundespost is not subject to value added tax laws and so it cannot claim tax rebates on the VAT passed on to it by its suppliers. In 1972 alone it is estimated that this loss will amount to 600 million Marks.

The objections raised by the Postal Users' Association to the increased charges are falling on deaf ears. But more than ever before Herr Hübner's demands should be backed up and echoed by the general public.

If this is not the case we can expect the Bundespost to keep wriggling out of its responsibilities as it did in this reply to an objection raised by a magistrate in Karben, Hesse, to the deteriorating postal service:

"Despite the increase in productivity that has been achieved by the Bundespost the demand for its services has continued to increase substantially and it has been impossible to keep up with this and to avoid shortcomings."

Continued rising charges are unavoidable, too, it would seem.

Albert Bechtold

(Münchener Merkur, 6 April 1972)

## Monopolies Commission hits out at fibre producers

ing to the structure of the chemical fibres industry all the manufacturers concerned belong either directly or as subsidiaries to the major chemicals companies.

The following firms were involved and the fines they were expected to pay as well as the criticised agreements they made are given in parenthesis:

1) *Farbwerke Höchst AG*, Frankfurt (Fine: 5,080,000 Marks for participation in cellulose wool and polyamide agreements).

2) *Süddeutsche Chemiefaser AG*, Kehlheim, a subsidiary of Hoechst (1,400,000 Marks; cellulose wool).

3) *Farbwerke Bayer AG*, Leverkusen (7.5 million Marks; polyamide).

4) *Pharix Werke AG*, Hamburg, a subsidiary of BASF which has now been closed down (1,790,000 Marks; cellulose wool, rayon textiles).

5) *ENKA Glanzstoff GmbH*, Wuppertal (85,000 Marks; acetate).

6) *Glanzstoff AG*, Wuppertal, a subsidiary of ENKA Glanzstoff (21,140,000 Marks; cellulose wool, polyamide, rayon textiles).

7) *Deutsche Zellwolle GmbH*, Frankfurt, a jointly owned subsidiary of the second, fourth and sixth companies mentioned above, each with a third share (20,000 Marks; cellulose wool).

8) *Deutsche Rhodaceta AG*, Freiburg, a subsidiary of Rhône-Poulenc in France (11,015,000 Marks; polyamide, acetate).

9) *Lonza GmbH*, Säckingen, a sub-

siary of the Swiss Lonza AG (410,000 Marks; acetate).

According to the Kartellamt the procedure employed to which they objected was this. The European synthetic fibre manufacturers formed a group to ward off jointly the growing competition on this market from the Japanese. They divided up their various spheres of interest to mutual advantage with the result that "Japanese fibres rarely came on to the European market".

In addition to this European fibre manufacturers concluded cartel agreements amongst themselves to divide up the spheres of influence on the home market, fixing prices, which also applied to importers or by making direct rulings on quantity so that infiltration of the domestic market by outsiders could largely be avoided.

Finally the members of the national groups involved in the production of polyamide, cellulose wool and acetate fibres were also found to be responsible for setting up cartels for division of the market, price fixing, discount on total turnover and for distribution and sales.

According to the watchdogs over competitiveness these agreements almost put an end to rivalry on the home markets. The advantage gained from this was used to the detriment of the economically weaker textiles industry, they state.

As a result synthetic fibres made in Europe were being sold at a higher price, on the home market than abroad, where vestiges of competitiveness remain.

In order to counterbalance the greater competitiveness of foreign producers synthetic fibre manufacturers in this country "made illegal agreements which they called an export promotion drive".

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 April 1972)



## ■ TRANSPORT

## Magnetic suspension rail network's possibilities for the future

Ministers of Transport take — or certainly used to take — the greatest pleasure in cutting the tape with a pair of gold scissors to open officially yet another section of autobahn.

Of late the politicians who specialise in transport and traffic problems have developed a new approach, though. Their latest favourite is the mode of transport of the future, the hovertrain or magnetic suspension rail network.

Are they a practical proposition or is this sudden interest in trains without wheels merely a flight from reality? Is some such system a viable and technologically inevitable alternative for coping with transport problems to come?

For the most part transport planning is nowadays based on the assumption that there is a gap between the private car and the aeroplane. The private car will reach saturation point by the end of the present decade.

In 1980, then, one person in three will be, statistically speaking, a car-owner. Whether he will be able to use it to any purpose is another matter. Despite ambitious road-building programmes (and where is the money to come from?) there seems to be scant hope of satisfying demand. The autobahn construction programme has, moreover, passed its peak.

By 1980 domestic air travel will also be nearing saturation point, but the railways — at present the only alternative — are outmoded and only just manage to compete with other modes of transport

### DIE WELT

by virtue of substantial government subsidies.

Yet transport requirements for both goods and passengers continue to increase. Greater mobility is called for and the travelling public are increasingly demanding. Environmental protection is also assuming greater importance.

In technological terms the gap between road and air transport occurs at a speed of some 300 miles an hour. The average touring speed by car is about 75 miles an hour and tending to slow down rather than grow faster. Two hundred miles an hour is virtually the limit for conventional railways. Air travel, on the other hand, does not enter the picture until speeds of 500 miles an hour or so are reached.

The theoretical requirement for which planners have set out to cater is the case of the Hamburg businessman with six hours of negotiations to conduct in Munich.

He will want to cover the distance (roughly 500 miles) in two hours so as to be able to set out in the morning and be back home the same evening and he will want to do so comfortably, come rain or snow, and economically.

Rail networks using environmentally

acceptable electric power would seem to be the only answer. Bonn rightly accords maximum priority to the so-called magnetic suspension railway.

Kraus-Maffei and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, both of Munich, have built test tracks for their competing magnetic suspension systems. A test run with either train is still a fairly noisy business but the engineers point out reassuringly that the whole project is still at the experimental stage.

What is more, even the prototype glides, hovers or whatever a good deal more smoothly and quietly than a conventional railway carriage powered by electric railcar.

In both cases, too, the design idea is an exciting proposition. The carriage does not come into contact with the tracks at all. It hovers three fifths of an inch above them, held in place by magnetism. There is neither friction nor wear and tear.

The test vehicles currently undergoing trials are not yet completely independent of ground contact, however. Like trams or trolleybuses they still have a power pick-up. It would be uneconomic to generate power on board and other than by direct contact a way of beaming electric power at the railcar as it hurtles over the tracks has yet to be found.

The propulsion unit is the well-known electromagnet linear motor generating a mobile magnetic field. The word "mobile" leads on to a further problem.

How much energy is going to be "hoisted" at speeds of 250 or 300 miles an hour?

In the past the assumption has been that the magnetic field will not be able to keep pace with a vehicle travelling sixty miles an hour. This has been disproved in practice and the current trials are designed to determine the effect speeds of 300 miles an hour on the magnetic cushion on which the train glides.

The inductive linear motor, which has intents and purposes is an unusual three-phase motor, will shortly be undergoing crucial tests. It will also have to master high speeds in bad weather.

Fog will be no trouble since the network is fully electronic and there are no intersections but snow and ice present problems. So could flocking low-flying birds.

The advantages are self-evident. A net expansion railway would suit autobahns, fields, factories and houses would be as comfortable as flying, a clash with other modes of transport make next to no noise and emit exhaust fumes whatsoever.

What is more, it would not drop open country in the way an autobahn does and sites for occasional pit would be by no means as expensive as land needed for road-building.

Is it safe? The project engineers say that there is a triple braking system. Motor is reversed, flaps are extended once the speed has declined to 225 an hour, a mechanical brake comes grips with the problem.

The safety engineers have also a good care to ensure that carriages do no harm should there be a failure. Once the magnetic cushion removed they could, one supposes, continue on their way.

Continued on page 8

## ■ AUTOMOBILES

## Battery weight hampers electromobile development

For eighteen months or so a delivery van has plied the streets and building sites of Munich that has no more in common with a conventional motor vehicle than its outward appearance.

The entire body, including the chassis, is made of plastic. Instead of a conventional engine the test vehicle boasts a simple electric motor and instead of a fuel tank it has weighty batteries.

This noiseless, exhaust-free electromobile was jointly developed for experimental purposes by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, the aerospace and engineering group, Bosch, the specialists in electrical goods for motor vehicles, Varta, the battery people, and RWE, the Rhenish-Westphalian electricity corporation.

There could hardly be a more straightforward vehicle to operate. There is no gearbox and no clutch, merely a three-position lever marked forwards, stop and reverse. Speed is controlled by means of a power adjustment pedal that to all intents and purposes is an accelerator.

The van's road-holding qualities could hardly be improved on by a sports car with its engine mounted between the front and rear axles. For this is the location of the weightiest part of the experimental vehicle, the batteries.

The motor generates almost without noise a peak performance of 44 kilowatts, corresponding to sixty DIN horse power. The vehicle is capable of top speeds of fifty miles an hour, which is ample for city traffic.

Continued from page 8

ceivably drop off like pegs off a clothes line.

Seriously though, what about the economics of the project? The planners are working in terms of a seven-per-cent profit. On this basis passenger travel would be comparable in cost to first-class railway travel today.

Magnetic trains could also convey containers, cars and goods vehicles at attractive rates, or so the cost accountants claim.

A report recently submitted in Bonn suggests the construction of an initial semicircular route from Hamburg to Munich via Bremen, Bielefeld, Dortmund, Cologne, Frankfurt, Mannheim and Stuttgart. A more direct route via Hanover, Kassel, Würzburg and Nuremberg would complete a figure of eight.

By 1985 the daily volume of freight could, under 34,000 heavy goods vehicles redundant. This is a mere one per cent of the present volume of railway freight and 24 per cent of road haulage is to be channelled via the new magnetic suspension rail network.

By 1985 the new network could indeed cater for two thirds of road traffic, one third of conventional rail traffic and ten per cent of air traffic.

The first major hurdle is to be scaled next year when a forty-mile test section is to be built near Augsburg in order to prove the superiority of the new system over car, rail, air and hovertrain transport on middle distances. As in the case of research so far conducted, the Federal government will contribute towards the 300 million Marks or so these first major trials will cost.

The figure of eight between Hamburg and Munich will cost somewhere in the region of 20,000 million Marks, though. It remains to be seen how sums of this amount are to be raised. Peter Gillies (Die Welt, 4 April 1972)

commercial use. Up to a point this would appear to be right.

From the beginning the vehicle was designed for a specific purpose, that of urban commercial deliveries. A van of this kind must have a large loading bay. Its speed and acceleration must be in keeping with city requirements. It must be easy of and trouble-free in operation. And it must combine a minimum of noise and exhaust fumes with a maximum of economy.

As regards payload, performance and ease of operation the Munich van can be rated satisfactory to good. The exhaust problem does not apply, since there is no exhaust whatsoever. The van is also unbeatably quiet.

The economics are somewhat more problematic, though. The van costs about 30,000 Marks, which is a good deal more than similar conventionally-powered vehicles. On the other hand running costs are lower and the electric van has a far longer life expectancy.

Unlike the combustion engine the electric motor has next to no parts that suffer from wear and tear and needs virtually no servicing, which is a not inconsiderable money-saver.

The bodywork is not subject to wear and tear either, since it cannot rust. Apart from one or two mechanical parts the entire body and chassis are made of plastic.

The use of synthetic material was an absolute prerequisite for the entire project. It saved so much weight that the entire vehicle weighs only 792 lb more than the batteries.

The chassis is extremely stable in comparison with pressed steel, too. In crash trials the body proved to be extremely shock-absorbent. There is no need for special concertina zones.

The vehicle's range is, it is true, nothing to write home about but the manufacturers do not feel that this will present much of a problem. In a survey conducted in Munich it was discovered that four out of five one-ton vans only cover distances of between 35 and fifty miles a day.

The electric van's range is thus ample in most cases. After a full day's work it can be plugged into the mains and recharge its batteries overnight or simply have its batteries changed.

In conclusion one could, perhaps, say that the Munich van is a relatively sensible solution to the problems of developing electric-powered vehicles, particularly as it has been specially designed for the job.

The real breakthrough will not come, however, until battery manufacturers achieve a considerable measure of progress and this may take some time yet.

Jürgen Schmitz-Fueck  
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 April 1972)

## Volkswagen unveil battery-powered van

Major manufacturers having already unveiled their latest models the 42nd Geneva motor show sprang few surprises. There was, though, what *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* was pleased to call a "small but lovingly arranged special exhibition" outlining the harm that can come of imperfectly combusted motor fuel.

British Leyland had an answer to the problem of exhaust fumes on display at Geneva, an electric car. It was, needless to say, a prototype, there still being no signs of a battery powerful enough to compete with conventional combustion.

In this country too research and development engineers with the major motor firms are engaged in work on electric propulsion. The latest development has just been unveiled by Volkswagen.

To look at, the VW electromobile cannot be distinguished from a conventional transporter. Instead of a 1,600-cc petrol engine an electric motor has been linked to the gearbox.

Only one of the gears is needed, though, and the manufacturers have opted for second gear. Reverse is unnecessary. With an electric motor a gearbox is not needed to reverse direction. It is merely a matter of flipping a dashboard switch.

So the clutch pedal is superfluous and only the brake and accelerator are left. Initial braking is electric, also serving to recharge the batteries, followed at a later stage by conventional mechanical methods.

Unfortunately the range is limited to between thirty and fifty miles, depending on whether the van is driven stop and go or uninterruptedly at a steady speed of thirty miles an hour.

The batteries, once flat, need recharging. The unit consists of 72 cells, is 144 volt, weighs 840 kg, has a life-span of 1,500 recharges and is manufactured by Varta.

In order to help solve the battery problem Volkswagen have concluded an agreement with RWE, the Rhenish-Westphalian electricity corporation, on battery-charging facilities. Batteries can be replaced in a matter of minutes and the electromobile can then venture straight back on to the roads.

(Die Zeit, 31 March 1972)

## Minister signs into law 100-km/h speed limit

Despite an increase in the number of motor vehicles registered in this country the number of road deaths declined last year to 18,685, as against 19,193 the year before.

The number of injuries sustained in traffic accidents declined from 531,000 to 517,000 and the number of accidents reported from 550,000 to 535,000 over the same period.

The Minister of Transport, Georg Leber, commenting on these figures in Bonn, attributed the breakthrough to the new highway code that came into force just over a year ago and to efforts to ensure increased vigilance on the roads.

Herr Leber further announced that he has signed a decree specifying 100 kilometres an hour (62.5 mph) as the maximum permissible speed on all roads other than autobahns and that this regulation was to come into force on 1 October next.

That, the Minister said, was that. Roads were highways and not racetracks. There must be an end to speeding once and for all. (Neue Hannoversche Presse, 17 March 1972)

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The electromobile developed by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm

(Photo: MBB)



## ■ FILM AND THEATRE

Wuppertal's *King Lear* is something of a comedy

Edgar, the Duke of Gloucester's legitimate son, comes back from a long pilgrimage radiant in a suit of golden armour and fights Edmund, his bastard half-brother who wears the black armour of the devil.

Evil perishes. The corpses mount up. Lamenting, King Lear drags his only faithful though previously disowned daughter Cordelia on to the stage where her sisters, the avaricious, lascivious and depraved Goneril and Regan, already lie.

All three are dead. King Lear and Cordelia are dressed in the most radiant white of innocence and purity. And now the old, much-tormented King is unable to bear his grief. The final words read:

*The oldest hath borne most: we that are young / Shall never see so much nor live so long.*

The well-known tragedy has a protean climax with Baroque disguise and theatre-goers would be more tempted to laugh than cry despite all the bodies. The Willy Händler, Horst Laube and Claus Peymann production of Shakespeare's *King Lear* in Wuppertal did not evoke identification and sympathy from the audience.

Everything to be seen was theatrical and the audience always had their noses shoved into it — everything was theatrical. It was not a real tragedy but one that was pretended. Even the serious passages evoked laughter.

As much as some Shakespeare admirers may be irritated, this special quality of Claus Peymann's production of *King Lear* in Wuppertal cannot be rated highly enough. To achieve this quality, Peymann simply incorporated the acting into the play as well — though this is not so simple. It was not kings and queens, dukes and soldiers who were standing on stage, but obviously only actors playing these roles.

Stage designer Christian A. Steif produced an unmistakable basis for this venture. A simple rectangular wooden structure resembling scaffolding showed where the stage was, forming a giant though open box. The side nearest the audience dropped down and the play could begin.

The problems involved with the large number of exits and entrances and scene changes solved themselves as the actors could be seen both before and after their appearances.

Of course everything would have been even more charming if the whole idea had been new but similar methods were employed for the production of Turrini's *Tollster Tag* in Darmstadt for instance.

This is with doubt suitable stage design for modern-day Shakespeare productions. The acts of heroism and villainy, the kings, ladies and blackguards and the passions and emotions presented have now become unrealistic.

They are only realistic in the form in which they appear — as Shakespearean theatre. Illustrating this reality is the main thing. Apart from this, intentional quotation makes the play freer and gives more pleasure than the ideas that have long been of no significance.

Claus Peymann knew how to put this into effect. Apart from a few rather long-winded passages such as Edgar's pilgrimage with his blinded father to Dover, the action is mainly exciting and there are always surprises.

The actors were in top form, though some reservations must be made. The overall idea did not suffer, only its realisation in individual cases. The best illustration of this is Bernhard Minetti in the role of King Lear, the most outstanding actor in the production.

Minetti's ever-fascinating and flawless actions lacked what could be called motivation. It was as if they came out of



Scene from the Wuppertal production of *King Lear*

(Photo: Absang Tüllmann)

## The Art of the fugue to be main work at Ansbach Bach Festival

Next year Ansbach will be holding a 25th Bach Week. In the past quarter of a century the town has achieved a high international artistic reputation as a result of this festival.

The main work on the programme will be a production of *The Art of the Fugue* in the Wolfgang Graessner version for a large orchestra. Fritz Rieger, who played at the first Bach Week, will conduct the *Bach Bach Bach Orchestra*.

Wolfgang Graessner's arrangement of instrumentation of Bach's last major completed work demands the same orchestra as Bruckner alongside the organ and harpsichord and was first performed by Karl Straube and the Gewandhaus Orchestra in St Thomas, Leipzig, in 1911. (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 March 1972)

the blue. The question must be asked whether the background and development of this figure must be cut away to such an extent as in this production.

Doesn't the intention of performing the play itself as reality permit and encourage one to act the protagonist's role as a felt whole instead of dissecting it into individual actions that could not always be grasped psychologically any longer? There would have been possibilities enough for relating this to the play as is necessary, even if other methods had to have been adopted.

The production lacked confidence and ease. Peymann did not fully achieve the simplicity and informality that could be imagined here. But that only detracts a little from the charm of the production. It appeases theatre-goers who are used to the many attempts by so many theatres to find again the lost legitimization for Shakespeare. Shakespeare can always be acted. The only thing that must be known is how. (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 April 1972)

## No praise for political films shown at Oberhausen short-film festival

nobody either who had been able to influence Festival policy.

But politics was discussed elsewhere — in fact it was discussed too much and the demand was even made that Oberhausen should become a festival exclusively for political films.

The suggestion was also made that a failed attempt at a political film should be shown in the main programme as long as the politics expressed in the film were of the right ideology.

That is the surest way not to achieve one's aim. When the idea of a politically and ideologically standardised society is taken as what pluralism really implies, forging political cunning involves forging effective policies.

It is no coincidence that this cropped up. It is not only Festival policy, and something on the periphery of the whole event. It all has something to do with the films produced here in the last twelve months. Their politics is no better than that expressed by their champions.

Almost all the aesthetic cleverness has been dismissed from the political films that predominated and, in fact, formed the most interesting, though least hopeful part of the first few days when the final selection is made.

Last year observers were tempted to put forward a type of convergence

theory. On the one hand there were the political film-makers and on the other a tendency to promote aesthetic methods in all but the pronounced political films. Today this seems to have been no more than a passing phase. Everything points to a confrontation in which scarcely anything is recognised. In Kurt Rosenthal's *Maria Martinez Lopez* a picture story is photographed, the pictures rolled in front of the camera and the camera and montage produced within the story so that the whole film becomes a visual experience letting off a learning process as to what seeing and sight actually are.

The methods of visual persuasion available to film aesthetics as it develops further — or the methods that could be made available if this type of aesthetics was not disavowed so much — are rejected by the makers of political films, especially if they are Socialists.

Violent criticism comes from this camp whenever these methods are employed. *Strike at Piper & Sile* a film made by Adolf Winkelmann and Gerhard Bittner about an industrial conflict in the Ruhr in 1923, was described as soap opera and proletarian Hollywood-style.

Options can differ over whether this intentionally operatic-style film owes more to the aesthetics of Visconti or, as its makers claim, to the Socialist Realism

of the Peking Opera or the earlier style of the DEFA or even the Ufa film companies.

It should not be ignored that an attempt has been made to develop an individual style for political films in the Federal Republic despite the lack of tradition.

The lack of tradition is also a problem for most of the other political films. They exhaust themselves in theoretical claims that are illustrated visually though not developed.

The exceptions show what is needed. The medium-length *For Women - Chapter One* by Christina Perinotti of the Berlin Film Academy and the documentary *Red Flags Can Be Seen Better* by Rolf Schöbel and Theo Gallehr rise above the general mediocre to miserable standard and otherwise found in Oberhausen. These two films have been developed into reality and not theory.

*For Women - Chapter One* shows two shop assistants in a supermarket achieving solidarity. The women playing these roles state their own experiences, they have had a say in writing the script and their consciousness and situation.

A similar process is found in *Red Flags*. The documentation derives its political effect on the viewer from the precise depiction of how workers on strike come to realise all about their economic and social dependence on society.

Peter W. Jansen (Die Zeit, 7 April 1972)

## ■ OPERA AND BALLET

## New Glen Tetley ballet at Hamburg is as enigmatic as ever

## DIE ZEIT

After watching a ballet by the American choreographer Glen Tetley one gets the feeling that if only one knew the code one would get to the bottom of a puzzle which would give one an insight into an inner world.

Tetley is a vanguard fighter whose complex, intellectual and intricately devised Modern Dance swims against the tide. Other choreographers intend to throw light on conditions or narratives by the means of choreography.

But the more complicated and involved a Tetley ballet becomes the more puzzling it turns out to be. And we see the more clearly Tetley's perseverance with a sphere of art in which he has developed particularly artificial methods of communication.

For example there are the symbols of a hunting ritual in *Mythical Hunters* and "Tai Chi", a Chinese form of shadow boxing in *Embrace Tiger and Return to Mountain*.

Thus it is impossible to say anything definite and real about Tetley's ballets, but this is not to say there is no reality (psychological description) in them. But it is necessary to be introduced into the semantics of his choreography.

Tetley has sharpened up his artistic ideas noticeably over the years with his productions for the Hamburger Staatsoper, *Threshold*, and *Chronochrome* and the abortive *Circles*.

After the strict sterile laboratory exercises he has now at least cast doubt upon his inner arrangement with the sublime ballet world born of an awareness that he must communicate. In *Imaginary Film* he has spliced together art and kitsch and in his recent production for the Netherlands Dans Theater *Small Parade* he apparently threw Classical Ballet overboard.

In *Threshold* we see a clash of identification with and doubts about ballet, for Tetley whose work is becoming richer and more virtuosic with the passage of time like many artistic producers has allowed Romanticism to linger.

*Threshold* is more than anything choreographed in a musical manner (which is hidden by the scandalous reproduction of Alban Berg's violin concerto at the Staatsoper). In the introductory motif of the violins four women dancers come in as in George Balanchine's *Serenade*.

They are wearing body stockings under flowing skirts down to the ankles and bathed in bluish-black lighting. Then four male dancers enter and extend the movements of the women.

In the allegretto of the score we see a correspondingly correct "Viennese" large-scale and indeed arrogant and overbearing choreographed ballet Romanticism. There is much dancing up on points, soft rounded arm movements and extended serial movements.

*Threshold* never sinks to the level of the nostalgia of *Dances at a Gathering* by Jerome Robbins for instance.

This ballet alternates rapidly between group dances and the soloist passages and will not allow itself to be fixed by stylisation.

The dancers appear in step-like formations rising aloft and when they make their springs these do not appear to be synchronised. This is all suggestive of literary motifs. A girl dressed in grey

appears as if from a mirror and seems to take on life of her own.

In these girls we come to recognise more and more as they come on to the stage to add to the numbers or to relieve other dancers that this is one and the same figure in a dialogue with herself.

Stereotyped movements, for instance touching with flattened hands, perhaps touching the partner, are further constructive elements in a dancer's searching for her role.

Something of this kind becomes the dramatic outline of the allegro movement presented with a girl dressed in red and black descending a spiral staircase, as proud as the Spanish girl in the character role.

After her another girl in the adagio movement does the splits, rolls down and introduces herself into the movements of the ballet as they become more and more lost.

A further part of the wall marking off the wings is moved away and a matronly figure, who is strongly marked as a

monumental art figure with a long dress and train comes into the middle, a dancer who crosses her arms, shivering, as if seeking protection, throws herself into the arms of the woman, presumably a symbol of "absorption" of "transfiguration". With all the musicality of this absolute music Tetley has nevertheless managed to wrest choreography from the whole as if under duress and this is shown in these literary foreign bodies and choreographic blurrings.

Jens Wendland (Die Zeit, 7 April 1972)



Dancers in Tetley's ballet set to Alban Berg's violin concerto

(Photo: Fritz Peyer)

## Kassel and Kiel experiments shock Wagner and Bach purists

It was rebellion, double rebellion in fact, against Wagner and Wagner's grandson in Kassel's Staatstheater. Rebellion, too, against all the mythology of the *Ring des Nibelungen*, rebellion against the new Bayreuth style of *mise en scène* by Wieland Wagner, which has in itself become something of a myth.

By 1974 Kassel should have a production of the tetralogy which brings the work up to date and allies it more to modern experience. The present that is actually aimed at could better be called the future.

This is the future à la Sci-Fi, with frigid, fantastic visions of outer space. Wagnerian musical drama has been turned into a twenty-first century UFO adventure.

The second part of this adventure *Die Walküre* has now been presented to a public that was partially horrified, partially enthusiastic within the framework of the "Kassel Experiments 2" which have gathered together a series of the Wagner rehearsals held there.

It is essential to describe the stage settings which scenic designer Thomas Richter-Forgách dreamt up.

In the background is a Surrealistic scene with bizarre rocky mountains and

orbiting planets, absurd technological constructions and evilly grinning animal figures. The whole is reduced to an unpleasantly static tableau.

Before this background stands Hunding's cottage like a snug and comfy garden idyll in old German, Romantic, kitschy style. Two gigantic cool, silvery metallic blocks stand to the sides, presumably symbolising the omnipresence of the Gods.

Wotan resides in something that is a cross between a living-room with bar and a technological control desk, sipping a cup of coffee while delivering his monologue.

Brünnhilde preens herself with brush and comb in front of a mirror in an intimate boudoir before making her appearance in front of the Father of the Gods.

In the final act the scene is dominated by totem poles with small windows in them from which the Valkyries hang the dead heroes they are bringing to Valhalla. A dome of light with a moving red wreath of illumination descends over the stage at the end when Wotan conjures up fire.

These tableaux are more alienating than ironic in our sophisticated world if they are meant to have anything to do with

Wagner and not just form aesthetic scenery *sui generis*, a challenge that is issued to the director and has to be accepted.

But Ulrich Melchinger does not accept it. From helplessness rather than a conscious desire to provide a dialectic contrast he makes the cast perform as in a traditional *Walküre* production.

It looks as though conventional guest singers have just dropped in, been fitted into the Pop costumes and told to do their normal repertoire.

One positive exception to this is the scene with the cheerful and highly uncomfortable Valkyries who hunt down underwater monsters with machine guns and flashlights which they shine into the auditorium.

For the rest it is rather embarrassing, for instance the appearance of Loge who goes around lighting the electric lamps around Brünnhilde's rock with haughty balletic poses.

This production does not throw any new light on the work nor resolve any of its puzzles. Musically, too, Gerd Albrecht's interpretation consistently avoids bloating the score, working towards tonal clarity and thus losing in terms of dramatic impetus.

Outstanding in this production of *Die Walküre* are an orchestra that reacts subtly and a cast that is impressive for a lesser-known opera house with Peter Wimberger as Wotan and Joy McIntyre as Brünnhilde.

In Kiel Hans Neugebauer also recently threw down the gauntlet to the new Bayreuth with his apparently naive narrative of the curse of the Ring, which had more far-reaching results than Kassel.

And in Kiel, too, at the most recent Philharmonie Concert Hans Zender tried an experiment that was highly dangerous, but came off. In the middle of a performance of the Matthew Passion he inserted Arnold Schoenberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw*, another attempt to get right to the heart of the Passion.

The connecting link between the two works was that the Christ of the Passion and the narrator of the Schoenberg work were sung by the same performer, the Schoenberg work deals with the suffering of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto and their journey to death in Auschwitz.

Zender achieved what he intended by linking up the Bach Passion music and the shrill accusations of Schoenberg. When the Schoenberg passage is over we hear the Passion with different ears.

Peter Dammberg (Die Zeit, 6 April 1972)



Scene from the Kassel production of Wagner's *Die Walküre*

(Photo: Sepp Bli)



(Kjeler Nachrichten, 28 March 1971)

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## ■ CRIME

## Federal agencies intensify fight against smuggling

The Federal Finance and Economic Affairs Ministry has called for a bolstering of the measures against drugs and weapons smuggling into the Federal Republic. There has been recently a considerable increase in offences of this kind.

In a memorandum dated 28 March the Ministry requested the principal finance office to intensify measures against smuggling of this kind along the 5,500 kilometres (approximately 3,500 miles) of Federal Republic frontier. The Ministry hoped that the finance office would make sure that travellers and businessmen understood why these severe measures were having to be applied.

References were also made in the memorandum to the fact that drug-taking had become a serious health hazard in this country.

It will no longer be possible, according to the memorandum, to have the same attitude towards road, rail, sea and air traffic as in the past, allowing passage onwards without any delay. The number of searches are not likely to be increased but they will be conducted in future with greater thoroughness and attention to detail. These searches will also involve personal baggage.

Dr Hans Georg Ernde, a State Secretary at the Finance Ministry, announced at a recent press conference that improved international cooperation concerning drugs and arms smuggling would be aimed for by the Ministry, confirmed by bilateral or multilateral agreements. Above all customs officials were urged in need of information concerning the routes drug peddlers used bringing drugs into the Federal Republic from neighbouring countries.

The sixty-six countries who make up

the Customs Council in Brussels have expressed their desire to increase measures in all spheres in the fight against smuggling and last year these States said they were particularly concerned to intensify the struggle against drug-smugglers.

In the Federal Republic special efforts are being made to liaise more effectively between customs authorities, the customs crime institute in Cologne, the Federal Republic Crime Department, state crime squads, frontier control officials with headquarters in Koblenz and the Bavarian frontier police.

According to a statement made by the Federal customs administration cannabis was mainly imported to the Federal Republic from the East via Austria. LSD came into the country mainly from America and Britain. Raw opium was imported from Turkey. The frontiers most frequently used were in the south, although there has been an increase in smuggling via the Common Market into this country.

Recent reports maintain that there has been an increase in the amount of smuggling done using aircraft. Frankfurt, Munich and Hamburg were most affected in this traffic and these cities have become the centres for much international drug traffic.

Intensive precautions against drug-trafficking has driven the smugglers to the countryside. But the Federal Republic is not the main market for drug-peddlers. Rather the country is a transit route for drugs from the East destined for Britain, America and Scandinavia.

Judging by people recently arrested in drug trafficking, there has been an increase in the number of adults and youths involved and arrested. The number of minors mixed up in drugs has also increased by 67 per cent. Aliens are also involved to a considerable extent in the drug business, and are responsible for 63 per cent of all smuggling into this country. The Federal customs administration

believes that foreigners are responsible for a lot of the smuggling into this country and for the turnover in smuggled goods, but that their clients in the Federal Republic are Germans and predominantly minors.

Statistics released by the criminal investigation branch of the customs show that in 3,232 cases investigated in 1972 as many as 5,051 persons were found to be guilty of handling drugs. Of this figure 3,862 were West Germans and 1,189 foreigners or stateless persons. Of the total figure 463 were found to be only smugglers, 60 were smugglers and dealers, 1,547 dealers and 2,655 'recruited' clients.

In the same year police and customs confiscated 1,626 kilos of cannabis (828 the previous year), 19.5 kilograms of raw opium (7.7 kilograms) 90 kilograms of unrefined morphine (nil the previous year) and 21,000 LSD tablets (123 tablets in 1970).

The smuggling of weapons and explosives has given the anti-smuggling squads plenty of headaches. In 1971 a total of 22 cases were investigated involving 266 persons. In 1970 the figures were 171 cases and 190 persons were involved. 1,336 pistols and revolvers were confiscated - in 1970 the figure was 1,005 - along with 22 automatic weapons (previous year 21), 66 rifles (99 in 1970) and 148,777 rounds of ammunition (in 1970 the total was 54,400 rounds).

But gold smuggling presents the greatest problem. According to the statistical report recently issued by the customs authorities last year a crucial breakthrough against international gold smuggling was made. As many as 18,600 kilograms of bars of gold illegally imported were traced worth 8.2 million Marks. This figure represents 7.3 per cent of the figure of legal gold imports (107.6 tons) during 1970.

There are also a number of illegal transactions involving fuel oil, due to the differences in price and taxation in various countries. As far as customs officials can estimate in 1970 and 1971 something like 225 million litres were involved. According to official estimates as much as between 200 and 300 million Marks are lost from oil tax due to fuel oil smuggling.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 March 1972)

## Bank raid figures

Bank robbers involved in the 354 raids on banks and similar finance houses during 1972 netted 10.1 million Marks, according to a statement made by the Federal Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dietrich Genscher, speaking at a Question Time in the Bundestag.

In the course of these raids two people were killed and 25 injured. Police have solved 174 of the cases.

In 1970 there were 235 raids of which 108 were solved. The raiders made off with 5.4 million Marks.

In that year one person was killed, ten injured.

1967 was the previous record year for bank raids. Then 430 were mounted involving mainly small banks and branches of banks.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 16 March 1972)

## Young Socialists claim crime is no worse than 'in the Kaiser's time'

The wave of crime that is overtaking this country is, according to an investigation conducted by Young Socialists and Social Democrats in Göttinge, 'no worse now than it was during the Kaiser's time'.

Their investigations showed how important it was to get the facts concerning crime right first. For instance in 1968 twenty five per cent of the cases people accused of murder, manslaughter or attempted manslaughter legal convictions were obtained. In 1955 this figure was something like forty per cent. The people involved in the survey are convinced that they can show a direct connection between public anxiety about crime and increased prosecutions by law agencies.

The people who took part in the investigation criticised those who oppose more liberal attitude towards sentence and imprisonment since they use statistics for the total of crimes without reference to the kind and gravity of the offence. The figure for the number of cases solved is falsified when it is borne in mind that the figure for the on the increase, but only thirty per cent of all cases of theft were solved. Examining the incidence, of theft the number of cases solved over the last few years has remained constant at eighty per cent.

The proportion of serious crime in total crime has not increased according to statistics provided by police - serious crime including murder, grievous bodily harm, sex crimes and theft.

The proportion in this country is at 0.1 per cent below the figures for Italy (0.3 per cent), France and the Netherlands (each 0.2 per cent).

The proportion of sex crimes is also declining. In 1963 it was 1.8 per cent of total crime and by 1970 had dropped to 1.6 per cent.

(Telegraf, 17 March 1972)

## Drug-taking

We must work on the assumption that thirty to forty per cent of young people between the ages of 15 and 25 have had some experience with drugs, a State Secretary in the Ministry of Family Affairs said. He was speaking at the opening of an exhibition on drug arranged by the Central Office for Health Care, Leverkusen.

According to the State Secretary most of the young drug-takers have tried drugs as many as three times.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 21 March 1972)

## ■ SPORT

## Football bribes saga unearths more and more irregularities

The Federal league football scandal is proving a real saga. Three clubs have been relegated for bribery and corruption. Two club directors have been fired and fourteen players banned, eleven of them for life.

The end is still not in sight. Investigations are still proceeding apace and one summons to attend the FA court of enquiry comes after another.

Kickers Offenbach would have been relegated to the southern regional league anyway and Arminia Bielefeld have also been demoted. The latest club to be expelled for irregularities is Rot-Weiss Oberhausen.

The court of enquiry would seem to have settled in advance who is to be relegated this season, though of course the bans on Bielefeld and Oberhausen are not yet final. In both cases appeals have yet to be heard.

Bielefeld have been relegated straight to the amateur league. Their appeal is to be heard this weekend. Oberhausen are to come up before the appeals tribunal in a fortnight's time in connection with allegations of a fixed game against Cologne.

Oberhausen director Peter Maassen was absolved of personal responsibility in the initial proceedings for lack of conclusive evidence, so the Red and Whites' fate is still uncertain. They can either be let off

## FA tribunal status reviewed

Eleven professional football players have been banned for life and demoted, let us face it, of a lucrative livelihood. Three clubs have been relegated for irregularities, and one of the three demoted to the amateur league.

Regional league clubs are entitled to employ professionals. Amateur clubs are not. The consequences for the club in question are evidently far-reaching.

The body responsible for these decisions is the Tribunal of the Football Association. It used to be virtually unknown but in the wake of the football bribery scandal it has become such a household name that it is now more popular, so to speak, than the Federal Constitutional Court or the Supreme Court.

Yet the FA tribunal has next to nothing in common with the courts of justice. Together with the appeals court, the FA Federal court, it is merely an organisational arbiter, a private body. In any real sense of the word it is not a court at all.

Any club or sports organisation is at liberty to deal with offences against its own rules and regulations itself before the issue is taken to court proper.

The FA is a case in point. Offences against FA regulations are first dealt with by FA tribunals, and the FA tribunals have far-reaching powers. They also have a wide range of penalties they can impose on clubs, officials and players.

These penalties can frequently be more devastating in their repercussions than a ruling by a court of law. This state of affairs has come in for criticism from various quarters.

It is no use laying the blame at the door of the tribunals. In the final analysis the Football Association itself is the body responsible. Like any other club or association it can amend its rules and regulations should it feel the need has arisen.

(Die Welt, 23 March 1972)

Canellas of Offenbach had rung him first and not vice-versa.

Why have the memos only come to light at this late stage? Why has he never mentioned their existence before? Why did he deal with the subject at a meeting of the committee of the eight Western clubs in the Federal league, a committee of which he is chairman? To what extent can FA investigations be stymied by statements under oath?

Maassen was unable to provide satisfactory answers to any of these questions. His image as a blameless director and man of honour had gone by the board in the course of the proceedings in any case. His defence was feeble, as was his reaction to the cutting comments of the presiding judge.

Once and once only did he rise to his erstwhile form, declaiming in his final speech that he was not asking the Lord above for assistance but did wish that He might refrain from lending his (Maassen's) confounded enemies a hand.

The tribunal this time was more prepared to believe the allegations levelled against him. Wilhelm Stute, ex-director of Arminia Bielefeld, stated that "Herr Maassen definitely did not say that he would be happy with a single point. He definitely said 'Let us play a draw'."

## Banned Cologne goalie intends to try his luck in American football

Manfred Manglitz, 31, is keeping in trim. Nearly every day the ex-Cologne international goalkeeper who was banned from professional association football for life for alleged bribe-taking drives his Mercedes 350 SL to a sports ground in the city.

His Cologne training ground is roughly half way between his ex-club's old ground at Müngersdorf, which is slowly going to rack and ruin now that reconstruction programmes for the 1974 World Cup have been temporarily shelved, and Cologne's replacement ground at Gelsbockheim, where Manglitz has been banned from putting in an appearance ever since he was sentenced by the FA tribunal.

With him he takes a football - the oval variety. In six months' time it might be earning him his bread and butter. For Manfred Manglitz intends to try his luck at American football.

In the meantime he is keeping in

On that occasion Stute preferred to trust to the performance of his players on the field and refused to consider rigging the match. The conversation took place immediately prior to Oberhausen's away game in Bielefeld.

In Offenbach, too, the two chairman, Canellas and Maassen, are alleged to have discussed rigging the result in the board room before the game. On this occasion too Maassen claims merely to have said that he would be happy enough with an away draw. Canellas claims to have been offered 50,000 Marks for a draw.

In Bielefeld Stute reckons to have known nothing about a cash offer of 20,000 Marks. The bribe is alleged to have been offered Bielefeld trainer Piechaczek by his Oberhausen opposite number Brocker.

It was a case of allegation and counter-allegation, family against family. Both men had their wives at the ready as witnesses of the controversial telephone calls. Needless to say, both confirmed their husbands' accounts.

Two businessmen were fighting to defend their reputations. Both had made a name for themselves in the world of football and while Maassen was trying to defend his, Canellas was endeavouring to regain his reputation as ex-chairman of the first Federal league club to be relegated for irregularities.

This time Peter Maassen was the loser. Dr Oestmann of Hanover did not mince his words. "The tribunal," he declared, "is convinced that Herr Maassen has been guilty of offences and that he is no longer the right man to head a Federal league football club."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 April 1972)

training, taking pot shots at goal that invariably go over the posts and would, of course, make soccer coaches' hair stand on end.

"A penalty specialist can earn good money in America," he maintains. Two clubs have shown interest so far.

Al Kaczmarek, who signed on European soccer players for the US league some years ago, is now the manager of the Chicago Bears. He has already announced his intention of offering Manglitz a salary of 25,000 dollars a year.

Maglitz is non-committal. "I'd sooner wait and see what Bob Cup has to offer," he says. Cup, manager of the New Orleans Saints, is flying to Europe in April. Manglitz has been in contact with him for some months.

Nothing need come of these approaches, of course, and Manglitz would not object to an offer of a soccer goalkeeper's contract somewhere abroad. He and his solicitor reckon there is a fair chance of his playing ban being reduced to this country only.

"I would prefer that to America," he admits. Manglitz would probably then head for Belgium or Holland, always assuming of course that offers were forthcoming. He also hopes some day to be granted a trainer's licence. At present the FA playing-ban effectively puts paid to that idea.

For the time being Manglitz, who has given up his job as branch manager of a Cologne sports outfitters, is living in hopes of money from his ex-club, Cologne.

"The immediate dismissal," he claims, "came four weeks too late." His first application to the labour court was a failure but he hopes to have greater success with his appeal, which is scheduled to be heard on 21 April.

If his appeal succeeds he stands to gain a whole year's salary. His contract did not expire until the end of the 1972 season.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 April 1972)

Citizens of North Rhine-Westphalia are quite happy with the police force they have, according to a statement made in Düsseldorf by the state Interior Minister, Willi Weyer.

He was announcing the results of a public opinion poll staged in the autumn of last year in which 2,817 people said that they were largely in favour of the work carried out by the NRW police.

Between September and December questionnaires asking for answers to twelve questions were distributed to people living in the area between the Rhine and the Weser.

But those who wished to make criticism of or praised the police had to pay for their own stamps.

Herr Weyer's summary of the survey was that "the relationship between the police and ordinary citizens is not so bad as it has often been painted."

Herr Weyer confirmed that in the largest West German Federal state people generally approved of the measures taken especially against drinking and driving.

The Minister deduced from this that the days when a man who had a few drinks and then roared off in his car was considered a bit of a wag are now past and gone.

No breakdown was given of the distribution of age groups of people taking part in the survey and their differing attitudes.

But it was stated that middle aged

## Police-citizen relationship not all that bad, survey shows

people in the 31 to 50 age group were the largest cross section to reply. 565 men and 396 women in this age group voiced their opinions.

Police officials should, according to 14 per cent of those questioned, be more consistent in the actions they take.

One per cent of those invited to voice their criticism stated that they found police officials "unfriendly and petty" but thirteen per cent said they found police officials worked "with efficiency and correctness but lacking the common touch."

One per cent of those who sent back their questionnaires said that Weyer's police force was "not sufficiently impartial or objective." Two per cent complained of a lack of authority and as many as seven per cent agreed with Willi Weyer's version to uniformed officials wearing their hair long and letting their beards grow.

Weyer himself is famous for the occasion where he sorted out the long-haired and bearded police officers on duty at the funeral of a state secretary.

The NRW police are given covering fire by the people they serve. Twelve per cent think more police should be recruited.

The Minister of the Interior commented that more than fifty per cent of police officers are involved in controlling traffic and they would be more useful in the fight against crime.

"North Rhine-Westphalia's motorists apparently do not fight shy of radar traps and feel that these should be better concealed than at present. Nine per cent of replies were in favour of tighter controls on speed-merchants in view of the astronomical accident rate."

Weyer has reasons for being proud on this count. The drop in fatal road accidents in the whole country by 503 can be largely ascribed to the cut back in accidents in NRW. In this state 266 fewer people died in road accidents in 1971 than in the previous year.

Weyer's colleague in Bonn, Georg Leber, recently praised the coordinated use of police and psychologists in traffic matters. Weyer himself gave a reminder of the programme carried out by his Cabinet colleague Horst-Ludwig Riemer.

The Minister of Economics and Transport Affairs in Düsseldorf supported the police with his campaign "Show a heart on the roads."

(Die Welt, 14 March 1972)